# cuba confronts the future

## FIVE YEARS OF THE REVOLUTION

a speech by
fidel castro
jan. 2, 1964

a review of

# A SECOND LOOK AT CUBA

from

THE PRAIRIE NEW DEMOCRAT *Commonwealth*

## BY CHARLES BIESICK

Jack Scott, well known columnist of the Vancouver Sun, went back this year to take a second look at Cuba. He came back with an interesting, encouraging and very human story. Apparently our Cuban companeros are coming through with flying colors. Food distribution is becoming better organized. The inevitable muddle and chaos following every revolutionary upheaval is gradually giving way to ordered progress. Faced with U.S. refusal to sell them spare parts for U.S.-made machinery Cuban workers and technicians are displaying unusual ingenuity in making these parts themselves. Where that is not possible they have them made in some of the communist countries.

Those of us who visited Cuba several years ago saw the country when it was still in the first flush of victory after the revolution. They were days of exhilaration when passing events gripped the emotions. Huge banners bearing the word "Socialista" fluttered in the breeze from every major building in Havana and other cities. Signs bearing the word "Nationalizada" had hastily been erected over the front of buildings of nationalized industries. The slogan "Patria o meurte" — my country or death — appeared everywhere on billboards, posters, in newspapers and at the end of every speech.

But brave slogans will not transform a nation's economy. Passing nationalization decrees is a simple matter, and decorating buildings with banners and posters with the word socialism requires no great expertise. The question is: how well are those nationalized industries being operated now that the Cuban revolution has settled down to the important task of building up the economy of the country? How are the Cubans coping with the formidable problems which faced them?

While the short-sighted policy of the U.S. may keep a few thousand U.S. workers among the unemployed, in Cuba it acts as a spur in the drive to make Cuba self sufficient to the greatest possible degree. Scott points out that new Cuban factories are already beginning to turn out for the first time items which Cuba formerly imported from the U.S.

Jack Scott reviewed the progress made in housing, education, health, land reform — in fact he seems to cover just about everything, including the important

matter of how Cuban women overcame the girdle shortage.

Does the Castro regime still enjoy the widespread popular support and what of its future? Based on his observations, Scott claims "the revolution is positively supported by 60 per cent of the population or more, that probably another 30 per cent go along because there's not much else they can do, and 10 per cent are bitterly opposed." As for the future he says: "I don't think there can be one in a hundred Cubans, whatever their persuasions, who aren't convinced now that the Castro regime is here to stay."

On his return to Canada, Jack Scott wrote a series of articles for the Vancouver Sun. These have been published in a pamphlet by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in Toronto with a forward by W. H. Herridge, the highly respected veteran New Democratic Party M.P. He writes that this pamphlet "will do much to assist Canadians in arriving at a sober and objective assessment of developments on this controversial island. It is an important contribution to an understanding of an upheaval which has qualitatively changed the course of history in the Western Hemisphere." And he adds: "I can only hope that many citizens of the United States will have the opportunity of reading this pamphlet."

At any rate Canadians definitely have the opportunity of getting this very informative, readable pamphlet for 35 cents. "Second Look At Cuba". Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Box 923, Adelaide Street P.O., Toronto, Ontario.

# *A word about Jack Scott*

JACK SCOTT is one of Canada's top notch newspaper men. He has served in almost every capacity, from the age of 15 as a copy boy for the Vancouver News-Herald to city editor of the same paper, and editorial director of the Vancouver Sun. He has had a wide experience outside of Canada. While serving in the Canadian Army during World War II he was associate editor of The Maple Leaf in London, England, and managing editor of the Germany edition published at Delmanhorst. After the war he worked briefly as managing editor of the Guiana Graphic in Georgetown, British Guiana.

As a columnist for the Vancouver Sun, since 1946 he has had many foreign assignments including: 10th Anniversary of Hiroshima, 10th Anniversary of founding of Israel, London correspondent for the Vancouver Sun and Toronto Star, and a South American tour which began his interest in Cuba where he has now made two visits and hopes to make more.

He has won three awards: The University of British Columbia Civil Liberties Union Award, The National Newspaper Award for a series on South America, and The Bowater Award for a series on French Canada.

# to know cuba

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# On the Fifth Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution

*(First published in the February, 1964 #94 edition of* Workers VANGUARD*)*

**"Full text of the speech delivered on January 2, 1964, by Major Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, on the occasion of the Fifth Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution."**

Dear guests who honor us with your presence on this Fifth Anniversary of our Revolution.

People of Cuba:

Five years have passed since the victory of the Revolution. Do we have the right to feel proud of these five years? We certainly have every right to feel proud of these five years of Revolution. We have the right to celebrate it with dignity and to continue celebrating it forever. Our country will always celebrate this anniversary. We are surer of this every day.

When the Revolution assumed power five years ago we knew that we had an immense and difficult task before us. And what was our situation then? What was the position of the people? What was the position of the leaders of the Revolution in the face of this task? It was a position of optimism, of confidence in ourselves. Of course we had self-confidence that no matter how immense and difficult the task ahead might be we would march forward.

But it was also true that we, the leaders of the Revolution, and the people, had no experience for this new task, this difficult and great task we had before us. And that is why on the day we arrived at the capital of the Republic we said with complete honesty that we felt just as we did the day we landed from the Granma *(the fishing boat that brought the July 26 movement fighters from Mexico to Cuba --ed.)*. We recalled those days when we arrived in the capital, precisely because of our inexperience, and because when the revolutionary war had ended we understood the vast difference between the experience of our fighters when we landed and our experience when the war had ended.

But the task that we had was not a military task; it was a different task, a much more complex task. It involved demolishing a whole unjust social order, a whole antiquated anachronistic social order, and building a new social order for our people. The mode of production of our society had to be completely changed for a new mode of production. A mode of production that had been entrenched for centuries, with all its traditions, its customs, its institutions, its laws, its ideas, its habits, its education, its organization, all this had to be changed for an entirely new mode of production for which we had neither the organization, nor the tradition, nor the habit, nor the customs, nor the appropriate ideas, nor the mental attitude appropriate to this new way of life.

Nevertheless, it had to be done. We could not continue living as we had in the past. The past had to be wiped out. Something entirely new had to be created. That had been the aspiration of our people for a long time. Our people had never had the opportunity to create something entirely new. Powerful forces of an international nature and powerful forces of a social nature had prevented our people, all through their history, from being able to work out their own destiny in a serious manner. The Revolution granted us that opportunity for the first time in our history.

**The Revolution Was Only a Beginning**

This did not mean that when we had this opportunity in our hands, that the road ahead would be easy. Nor did it mean that when our people had this opportunity, they would begin from the very first day to do things marvelously. It did not mean that we had an accurate, clear, detailed knowledge from the first day, of what we should do with this new opportunity.

But we did know one thing, and we all knew it: the victory of the Revolution meant the end of injustice. We, knew that the victory of the Revolution would mean the end of abuses, the end of privileges, and, in the course of time, the end of poverty, unemployment: in short, the end of the exploitation of our people. We knew that an entirely new era was beginning, and just as in the past we were accustomed to seeing injustice and abuse everywhere, now there is not a single Cuban who would calmly accept seeing injustice or abuse.

This does not mean that a series of vices and faults, a series of injustices, and minor privileges in the life of a country can be ended overnight. But what does end, what will end very soon is the old spirit of conformity, the old lack of hope and of optimism.

And the mentality of our people has radically changed in the last five years. In these past five years, from the point of view of building a new life, a new society, which will take many years, we have barely begun. But in these years, from the point of view of consciousness, from the point of view of the mentality of the people, there has been a transcendental and irreversible change.

Because one thing is very clear, and that is, that every Cuban who is present here and millions of Cubans throughout the island know that an irreversible decision has/been taken and that the past is falling further behind and will never be able to return to our country.

**Nothing Will Stop Our Victorious Advance**

What is our present like? Our present is a present of work, of effort and difficulties. That we know. But nevertheless there is nothing that can change the limitless hope we place in today's effort, the limitless hope we place In the future. Nothing can make us

change it for that past without hope, that shameful past, that sad past for the people: sad for the people, because the only ones who long for the past are, those who in the past had everything and never worried about the people.

They never thought of the suffering and the tears of the people. The people always wept, always suffered, always sweated, always bled, and no one thought of them. No one remembered them.

Let the exploiters weep today. Let the exploiters shed their tears. Let the exploiters sweat washing dishes in Miami. Let the bourgeois ladles sweat working as servants of the imperialists, or endure the shame of stretching out their hands to receive alms from their imperialist masters. May there be charity over there in the entrails of imperialism, and let the exploiters of yesterday beg for charity, for today, in this country, there are no beggars. Let them brood over the loss of their privileges. Let them brood over their hatred of the people, and no one will take pity on them.

Let them and their masters do whatever they wish to hinder the advance of the people. Let them do everything they can; they will achieve nothing; for nothing will stop the victorious advance of our people.

And this is why the basic sensation, the prevailing sentiment in every one of us today, is the certainty that we are winning. It is a feeling of victory; it is a feeling of five years of victory.

The very fact of saying five years here, before the people, before this huge crowd in the Plaza Civica, is in itself a victory that our enemies could never have imagined.

It is not just our victory. It is not victory over Batista and his clique, it is not victory over the counterrevolutionary gangs, over the reactionary exploiters. The people easily swept these enemies out of their way. It is victory over the U.S. Imperialists.

It is five years of resistance against U.S. imperialism. It is the revolutionary power that has maintained itself against the effort, the hostility, and the systematic aggression of U.S. imperialism. And if this victory means a great deal to us, it also means a great deal to the imperialists. For in their domineering minds, in their minds used to trampling over the peoples of our America, there was no room for the thought, nor could there be any room for it that this nation – our small nation living on this island — could have resisted and even emerge victorious, from these five years of hard, head-on battle with imperialism.

And this shows how much things have changed in the world. They have a great deal to learn from the example of the Cuban Revolution. This revolution is teaching both reactionaries and revolutionaries. The revolutionaries receive an encouraging lesson from our revolution, and the reactionaries receive a discouraging lesson from it. The imperialists have to understand this.

And if they do not understand, it is because they are stupid. If they do not understand it is because they are wearing the same kind of blinders that mules wear. If they do not understand, it is because it is hard work for them to do so. But they must understand, and they will understand, although they do not want to — what other choice have they? — that there is an entirely new and different situation in the world, that great changes have taken place in the world.

**Ours is Part of the World Revolution**

In the midst of our well-earned revolutionary pride and our well-earned satisfaction at what the Cuban people have accomplished, we must keep in mind that the Cuban Revolution was possible only because of the new conditions existing in the world.

The Cuban Revolution is part of the very powerful movement of liberation of the oppressed peoples, of the exploited and colonized peoples. Our Revolution is part of that very powerful world revolutionary movement that started with the historic revolution of the workers and farmers of the Soviet Union — the Revolution of Lenin, the Revolution of Marx and Engels. And this powerful revolutionary movement grew more and more powerful. And today it has the strength of all the countries of the socialist camp, of all the countries on all continents that struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

It is true that we alone could not have resisted imperialism, that without this powerful force, this powerful movement, we could not have resisted the blockades, the attacks, the economic strangulation that imperialism used against our country. It is true that we have felt the effects of this campaign, of this blockade, and of the economic effort to strangle our country. But they have not been able to crush the Revolution. And what is more, the economy of the country is developing amidst these conditions.

What I am saying today, the fact that our revolution is part of, and can count on, this universal revolution, was made very clear when our armed forces were on parade. We saw with pride the fighting units of our people; we saw with pride their discipline and their organization. All the people saw their weapons on parade.

***This was not an old-fashioned military parade. The old ones were a display of old, out-dated equipment that imperialism gave its servants to oppress the workers. The weapons that were displayed here today are not outmoded, are not junk. They are up-to-date military equipment which our Revolution has received to resist the imperialists.***
*(Emphasis by the Ed. – note the weight of the Russian Revolution in assuring the survival of the Cuban.)*

The servants of imperialism, with their police forces and their mercenary armies, do not need such modern weapons to attack student demonstrations, to attack workers' demonstrations, to murder farmers, to persecute revolutionaries. They do not need modern equipment for that. But to resist imperialists and their attacks, we do need powerful weapons, up-to-date weapons.

See how things have been changing in the course of the past five years. The imperialists would no longer think of disturbing the peaceful work of our country with an Invasion such as that of Playa Giron *(a reference to the CIA-sponsored attempted mercenaries' invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, quickly routed – Ed.)* They would no longer think of occupying a piece of our territory to start a long, drawn-out war. They no longer think of that. Why? Because they know what we have; because they know the military might of our Revolution.

Now it is more difficult for them to hurl their puppets into a small war against us. Now it is more difficult for them to hurl their puppets into an invasion of Cuba, for they know that they would last only ten minutes on our beaches.

We prefer to have our forces continue to parade before the people every year as a guarantee of their security and their future. Let us hope that our weapons will never have to be used. Let us hope that not one of these cannons ever has to be fired. Let us hope that not one of these tanks, missile units or planes, ever has to fight. Let us hope that not one of our fighters has to die. This is our most profound wish.

We do not have these weapons for decoration, or because of a whim. Our people want to live in peace. If our people were not forced to live under constant danger there would not be tens of thousands of magnificent men handling complex weapons. These men would be in production. They would be working in the factories and fields, increasing production, raising the standard of living of our people. And the resources and the fuel spent on these weapons would be invested instead in means of production.

That is why it is our wish that those weapons never have to he used. And the stronger our Revolution becomes, the greater the respect of our enemies will be. For with these weapons we cannot only defend ourselves from mercenary attacks, from the attacks of the puppets of imperialism, but can also fight against the best and best-equipped units of the imperialist army of the United States.

The imperialists know that it would be no picnic. They know that the people of Cuba will fight. They know that the Cuban people will fight to the last man and woman. They know that the Cuban people will never surrender. But not only this; they also know that the people of Cuba do not stand alone, they know that the people of Cuba would not fight alone in this struggle. Therefore, it has become more and more difficult for the imperialists. And it would be a good thing if on this Fifth Anniversary of the victory of the Revolution, the imperialists would sit down for a few minutes and think things over.

Some U.S. newspapers, among those that from time to time write objectively, are beginning to realize these things. I've brought a copy of a cable of a *New York Times* editorial. See what this prominent U.S. newspaper says on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of our Revolution: "**The Cuban Revolution will be five years old tonight, and the Castro regime is certainly strong, and possibly stronger than ever.**"

"**A list of its sins**", the *New York Times* adds — you already know what our sins are — "**a list of its sins and mistakes have been reported in detail year after year, but the existence and strength of the Cuban Revolution after five years, and the fact that there is no apparent weakening in the attraction of Prime Minister Castro within Cuba, or in his stature as a world figure, require an explanation**."

You will forgive me for reading this paragraph about myself. This is not what interests me. I am interested in pointing out what the imperialists are thinking. The imperialists try to personify. They do not say that this is the revolution of the people of Cuba, they say that it is Castro's Revolution, as if Castro and the people were two different things, as if it were possible for individuals to make revolutions. What can anyone do without the people?

And then the *Times* goes on — see how the facts are teaching them. It says: "**A revolution is, and always has been, a very complex social, political and economic historical phenomenon, with good and bad aspects. These uprisings begin by destroying the social, political and economic structure of the country.**" This is true. And the *Times* adds: "**It is a tragic experience for any nation, and it has been so for Cuba**". This is untrue. It has been tragic for the exploiters, for the bourgeoisie, but never for the people. It has been tragic for the imperialists, but never for our people.

Then the newspaper says that "**things were made worse by the clumsiness of the young revolutionary leaders**". That is true, to some extent; we are not going to say now that we are wise men. But what they called clumsiness was not exactly clumsiness. It was the laws that nationalized imperialist enterprises. Then it says: "**But that is not all that is happening in Cuba**"— listen to what they say — "**all children are receiving an education, the majority are being well fed and well cared for, regardless of how poor their parents may be**". And it adds: "t**he Negro and mulatto population, from a quarter to a third of the total, is obtaining genuine equality. The heads of government are free from financial scandal. These aspects are new in the history of Cuba. It would be foolish to make predictions, but to have survived five years is an outstanding fact, the explanation of which cannot be attributed to simple causes.**"

These objective words in which realities are acknowledged are really significant, for it is not we who are saying it. And for example, the fact that they speak of genuine equality in our country has much to say to many countries of the world, to the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, wherever that equality does not exist. The fact that they recognize that all children are receiving an education is to recognize something in Cuba that does not exist to the same extent in any other Latin American country, not even in the United States itself.

The fact that they say that all children are generally well fed regardless of how poor their parents may be — of how many countries in the world can this be said? That the men in the Revolution have not stolen a cent — of how many countries, of the politicians of how many countries, can this be said? And of course, they say that this is completely new. And how could it help but be new when this was a country of corruption and vice, of

pillage, of illiteracy, of unemployment, of hundreds of thousands of children without schools, without food, of unemployed families?

Something else has to be added to this: How have we managed to do this, and how have we had to do it? Under what conditions? The imperialists speak of their Alliance for Progress, and they continually complain that it does not progress.

They speak of their Alliance for Progress which has accomplished nothing of the sort, and yet there is no other country of America on which there weighs an economic blockade like the one maintained against us, there is no other country in America whose trade, whose transportation of exports and imports has been blockaded by the United States. There is no other country in America whose economy is sabotaged the way the United States sabotages ours. There is no other country in America where the imperialists have spent hundreds of millions of dollars to carry out acts of sabotage, burn sugar cane, destroy factories, commit crimes, carry out pirate raids, invasions, subversive activities, espionage. There has not been one country where they have done that, and yet nowhere has there been the change, the quick, extraordinary advance that has taken place in Cuba.

Of course not all Latin American countries are in the same condition, and we do not have the same opinion of all Latin American governments. But the fact is that the imperialists complain that the Alliance for Progress does not progress. And why doesn't the Alliance progress while the Cuban Revolution does? Why?

Before the Revolution the imperialists did not use that language, they used another language, they did not use the words **progress, Alliance for Progress.** No, they were completely unconcerned with the situation. Today they are not worrying over the fact that they themselves are "revolutionaries" — They speak about a peaceful revolution. And they want to carry out a peaceful revolution through the Alliance. But they do not do it because they are revolutionaries, or because they love revolution. They do it because they fear a revolution like ours. They fear true revolutions like ours. No one in the world believes that the imperialists are philanthropists when they talk about allocating funds for building a few small schools, some hospitals, some roads, and when they send out their peace corps, which is an espionage corps. But in the old days they did not even do that. They began to do all these things after the triumph of the revolution. That is why those hypocritical and opportunist measures are surely going to fail. That is a fact, an obvious fact.

Furthermore, the Alliance for Progress presupposes the maintenance of conditions of imperialist exploitation. The Alliance entails some fiscal reforms, some mild agrarian reforms, and some other measures. It stipulates that politicians should not steal the people's money and that the bourgeoisie should not deposit their money in foreign banks. But at the same time, it presupposes the maintenance of conditions of imperialist exploitation.

**We are not Abandoning Industrialization**

As I will explain to you later, our economic situation today could not be better. Our-8 situation today can be compared with others, and it can be said that it is one of the best on this continent in spite of the imperialists, in spite of their blockade. Because the. merit of our successes is that they have been won in the struggle against imperialism, amidst the imperialist blockade.

That is why the imperialists are trying to prevent visitors coming to Cuba. They are not only trying to prevent Latin Americans from visiting Cuba, they are also trying to prevent the people of the United States from visiting us. They carry on a campaign — we read many of the things they publish, and the truth is that day by day they grow more ridiculous, and have less effect. I will give you an example

Recently, we enacted the final agrarian law. Then it was announced that there would be no more agrarian laws — really, the agrarian revolution had already been carried out. It was not an agrarian reform, but an agrarian revolution.

What did the imperialist cables say? "Castro abandons the agrarian reform, when what we were doing was concluding the agrarian reform". Abandon the agrarian reform? We give definite guarantees to the small farm owner because he is an ally of the Revolution, because he can produce along with the people's farms; but 70% of Cuban land is producing through socialist enterprises, through state-owned enterprises. Seventy per cent of the land formerly belonging to the imperialists and large local land owners today belongs to the people, to the nation, and thanks to this we can give an extraordinary impulse to agriculture.

But, together with these people's farms, we have the small farm owners who have the other 30% of the land; who were freed from payment of rent by the Revolution, and who constitute the great peasant mass allied to the Revolution.

When we are carrying out our agrarian reform the imperialists tell the world: "Cuba is abandoning the agrarian reform." When the Revolution talks about developing agriculture, sugar cane, cattle, taking advantage of the fact that we have 160 sugar mills that have been working one hundred days yearly, and that could function 170 or 180 days, by grinding cane that ripens early and cane that ripens late, knowing that with our installed industrial capacity we could double our sugar production, when we speak of the development of our agriculture, they say: "Cuba has abandoned her industrialization program".

Are we abandoning industrialization when we have thousands and thousands of young people in our technological schools? Are we abandoning industrialization when hundreds of thousands of workers are studying, raising their educational level and acquiring a minimum technical knowledge? When what we are doing is creating the economic basis and human basis for our industrialization? But what is not the same is the development of industry in this first stage, in our present conditions; it is slower.

Agriculture can be developed faster. But, are we abandoning industry? No!

We are going to continue and we are going to carry out the industrialization of the country, and this will be through the means derived from sugar, with the foreign exchange we get from sugar, and with the means derived from cattle. We are going to develop the industries best suited to our conditions, and we are going to specialize in certain branches of industry. The imperialists publish this to make people believe that we are abandoning our industrialization plans. No! What we are going to do is take maximum advantage of our agricultural conditions. And besides, we are a food-producing country, a producer of foods that are in much demand.

Certain consumer industries have developed so much in the world that there are twenty car-loads pursuing each customer. But, there are no 2,000 pounds of meat pursuing each consumer. There are no 2,000 pounds of sugar pursuing each consumer. And our products, our agricultural products, command a very good price.

If, when sugar prices rise above 10 cents, we do not cultivate sugar cane, this is what the imperialists would like. For the imperialists are going crazy with these problems they themselves have created.

We have received extraordinary aid, of course, from our brothers of the socialist camp. And it has been, above all, sincere aid, honest aid, internationalist aid.

But we have also received unexpected aid, aid not open to suspicion: the aid of the imperialists. It has not been conscious aid— don't ever imagine that—it has been the involuntary aid of the imperialists. The imperialists have helped us with their aggressive measures in certain things, such as depriving us of our sugar quota in order to ruin us. They helped us. This measure boomeranged against them.

*========PHOTO CAPTION ==========*
*Photo caption*: **Out of the degradation of the bohios** (peasants' huts) **– into the world of education! Thousands of Cuban children for the first time are learning to read and write and are being introduced to modern technology in preparation for the socialist future of the Americas.**

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**Imperialists to Blame for Sugar Price Hoist**

What happened when they deprived us of the quota? Cuba needed new markets. The Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp decided to buy our sugar. In other words, a new market opened. Of course, even before the imperialists deprived us of the quota, Cuba had already sold one million tons to the Soviet Union by agreement. But when our quota was taken away, then the Soviet Union offered to buy all the sugar the United States did not buy. The result: this sugar went to a new market, and the imperialists turned to the world market to buy sugar. At that time the world market price was low and they tried to benefit by it. But, what happened? Something they had not foreseen. After a

few years sugar prices began to rise and rise, and at this moment sugar is above ten cents. Last year the imperialists had to spend 400 million dollars more than if they had bought our sugar. And it will be between 400 and 500 million this year.

But there is more: they are playing tricks, they are cheating. Recently, they had to announce the amount of sugar they must buy. But since the price was high, they told a lie: they published figures that were 600,000 tons less than they really need. What for? To try to lower prices.

And something else: They announced a domestic sugar production higher than they actually have, to try to lower prices. We kept quiet because we really don't deal in a speculative policy. We would have been, and we are, ready to trade with any country on a long-term basis and at a price way below ten cents. We are ready. We do not want to base our economy on the speculative principles of the capitalists. If sugar is in the clouds — the price, and sugar also, of course — it is not our fault. The imperialists are to blame. If many countries have had to pay much more for sugar, it is not our fault; the imperialists are to blame, because they are the ones who have created this situation.

But, anyway, the sugar-producing countries, many of which have underdeveloped economies, have received better prices and we feel glad. We are glad that they have received better prices. To be glad of that is one thing. And to say that we are going to give up our market for the benefit of those who wanted to take over our market under the conditions of the imperialist blockade, ah, that is another story!

We have already announced the amount of sugar that we are going to produce by 1970. And we have already said that we are ready to sell it at whatever price may be necessary by that time and recover our market. And we have already clearly said: nature gave our country exceptional conditions for producing sugar cheaper than any other country in the world. And those conditions are a gift of nature — that is, our land. We lack other things, but we have that advantage, and with that advantage we are ready to fight. With that advantage, we are ready to compete. Yes, to compete with our bourgeois competitors. We will see which is stronger in producing sugar, the bourgeois economy or the socialist economy. We have already announced that by 1970 we will produce ten million tons of sugar. Naturally, prices in 1970 will not be the same as today, but there will be more income, because there will be more volume.

The imperialists have harmed many nations through their policy against Cuba. They have not only harmed us, but many other countries as well. What is more absurd, they have harmed many countries that are their allies.

The imperialist trade-blockade policy involves a hate-inspiring position, a position repudiated by the whole world, a position: against liberty and free-trade, principles defended by all states, whether socialist or capitalist.

It can be said that freedom of trade, because of its universal convenience, is a principle that is universally defended by all nations, except the U.S. imperialists. But

behind this position lie other matters. The imperialists wish to defend their interests, to defend their shipping companies, to put ships of Norway, Britain, France,. Spain, Japan, Sweden, Greece and other countries out of business. For more than half a dozen countries receive large incomes from merchant shipping. And the imperialists have been scheming against the interests of these countries while defending the interests of their own merchant fleets.

And here I have another cable that reads: "**Eleven countries have jointly protested against attempts of the U.S. government to control maritime freight tariffs for their own benefit and under threat of reprisal. In the name of the governments of Great Britain, France, the German Federal Republic, Italy, Japan, Belgium, the Netherlands, Greece, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, the Netherlands Ambassador in Washington delivered a note of protest to the U.S. State Department. The U.S. press points out that the eleven-nation protest is due to attempts by the U.S. Federal Merchant Marine Commission to demand that shipping companies of those countries submit data on their operations. A spokesman of the U.S. State Department confirmed that the government had received the note of protest, but refused to give the text to the press.**"

In other words, this is part of a policy. Using Cuba as a pretext they are trying to replace the shipping lines of these other countries by their own ships in trade between countries and the United States.

Now, in addition, the main difficulty regarding the sale of U.S. wheat to the Soviet Union has been that the U.S. government has tried to protect its shipping companies. Naturally, other maritime countries are protesting against this privilege that the United States is trying to arrogate to itself since freights charged by U.S. ships are higher, and these companies receive subsidies from the U.S. government.

What is the only country in the world that follows this policy? The United States! What country follows a really stupid international policy? The United States!

There are some things that are very clear. For example: the United States tries to isolate the socialist camp economically, tries to isolate the People's Republic of China, to isolate Cuba. That is to say, it tries to isolate more than one thousand million people. This is a most stupid policy, one that goes against the interests of the United States itself. What has happened?

**Washington's Trade Blockade Policy Boomeranging**

What has happened is that other capitalist countries do buy and sell to the socialist camp. They buy and sell to People's China. They buy and sell to Cuba. The result: while the gold reserves of different capitalist countries are increasing and their industry is developing, U.S. gold reserves are decreasing. And the most serious headache the imperialists suffer today is the continuous decline in their gold reserves. They say they have taken these measures to defend U.S. security. This is what they tell the people of the

United States. And what they are really doing is to weaken their own security, not only their economy. For to the extent that their gold reserves decline their world position weakens.

But not only this; as their gold reserves decline — as a result of their stupid policy, of their warmongering policy, of their military bases policy — they have to strangle the economy of many countries and take away their gold.

Thus we have the example of Japan. Japan spends two thousand million dollars in the United States, and the United States buys only one thousand million dollars worth of goods from Japan. That is to say, many countries in Latin America, in Asia, have to raise dollars to send to the United States, and this hurts these countries. And when countries like Japan and others have to seed dollars to the United States, they harm their trade with other countries of the world. For naturally, if a country collects on one side to give it away on the other, trade becomes more difficult for it than if it buys where it sells. That is, it sells, and receives foreign exchange; it buys, and hands over foreign exchange.

From our own experience we have seen how trade becomes easier when it is kept in balance. For example: Japan needs sugar, it buys it from us. But we do not use the dollars paid by Japan to buy from another country. No. We try to spend in Japan what Japan pays us. We try to spend in Britain what Britain spends with us. We try to spend in Spain what Spain spends with us. And thus, from the moment Cuba started practicing free trade and freed itself from the International Monetary Fund, it has been able to trade with all countries of the world.

The imperialists do not want these countries to trade with us and try to put pressure on them. But these countries, these nations, have their own interests, which are not the interests of the U.S. monopolies. These countries need our products, and at the same time we need a market for our products. They are not willing to let themselves be influenced by imperialist pressure and therefore the policy followed by the United States in respect to Cuba is a greater failure every day. Their pressures have less and less impact and our trade is developing more and more.

What do the imperialists do when a country trades with us? I have another cable here that reads: "The United States has told Spain that Its growing trade and shipping with Cuba endangers the aid it receives from the United States." It is a very carefully edited statement — you know how these people edit things — but basically they all say the same thing. It is blackmail, a threat, pressure, and no matter how carefully they edit it, this they cannot conceal! "In a carefully worded statement, the State Department reported tonight that the matter is being discussed in Madrid with the Spanish government. The State Department says that two clauses in the Law are involved in the problem. One is included in the foreign-aid law approved last year, and the other in the foreign-aid law that Congress approved this week."

In short, when a country trades with Cuba they threaten it. They try to blackmail it. They threaten to cancel aid.

What kind of aid is this? What kind of friends are the imperialists? What kind of blackmailers? No country tolerates this kind of prohibition. And no country that respects the sovereignty of others makes such prohibitions. It would, be absurd if we told any country: "We will not buy from you or sell to you if you trade with such and such a country." They would say: "You are crazy." But why haven't they said yet that the imperialists are crazy? Because the imperialists had many resources, because they were strong, but since that strength and those resources are declining, many people will begin to realize how crazy and how stupid the U.S. imperialists are when they do such things. They are trying to enforce a policy of isolation.

They try to impose an isolation policy. Of course, they could do this when only one country was involved. But when it involves many countries this policy becomes more difficult to enforce. The final result is that they are the ones who are isolated. And they will remain isolated. For our country is establishing trade with other capitalist countries which later will have no need for trade with the U.S. We are less and less interested in trade with the U.S. Why? Because we seek other markets. Because we look for other buyers, and, besides, we buy products from other countries. In the long run what the imperialists are doing is losing big markets. They are putting a noose around their neck with their own policy. And what is the result?

**We Have Gained in Organization, Earnestness**

Here we are. Are we starving? No! Is our Revolution weaker? No! And how is our economy getting along? Our economy is improving. We must leave them to their illusions. U.S. news cables speak of nothing but horrors. They report that everyone here is starving to death. Let them hang onto their illusions. If they think they will defeat us in this way — wonderful! But I don't know what has gotten into these people. They have turned into idiots.

I am going to tell you what our situation is. Our economic position is improving greatly. I will give you a few facts: when the Revolution came to power there was less than 70 million dollars in the nation's reserve. Our reserves at present are more than 100 million dollars.

There is something more. 1963 was a better year than 1962, was it not? However, in 1964 the value of our exports will be at least 200 million dollars higher than in 1963. The value of our exports in 1964 will be more than 750 million dollars — at least 200 million dollars more than in 1963. To give you an idea of what this means it is enough to say that some big countries of Latin America, like Brazil, will export a little over that amount. Of course, they have a more developed economy and they have more industries. But anyway, the exports of our country, with a population of a little over seven million, will amount to more than 750 million dollars.

Now you see what a failure the imperialist blockade is. How ridiculous! How useless! How many enemies it has created for the United States! And in the long run

how" we have managed to overcome the difficulties! How much we have gained in organization, in earnestness, in firmness! How much has the spirit of this country been strengthened as a result of this blockade! And you can see how the distribution of .food was much better in 1963 than it was in 1962. And you can see, in spite of the hurricane, in spite of the damage caused by the hurricane, the perspectives that our country has for next year!

What will the future be like, as the organization and the experience that we are acquiring are put into action, as we improve the quality of our work, as we learn how to apply technology to production?

The comrades of our youth organizations, the Union of Young Communists and the Students Union, did very well bringing this torch of the Technical Revolution here. For we have to conduct the Technical Revolution! We have to put an end to old methods in the cane fields! We have already ended old methods In politics, and now we are going to end old methods in agriculture.

A man with a hoe is a pre-historic man as far as production is concerned. A man with a machete cutting grasses is a pre-historic man. It is logical that under capitalism this should happen, for the capitalists did not have markets, the imperialists did not allow them to have markets, neither for sugar nor for meat. That is why, had they mechanized, the population would have died of hunger. They had to go on using a spade and a machete. Their production was very low. A man with a scythe can produce for himself and his family and perhaps for a few more. A man with a modern combine can produce meat for four or five hundred persons, he can produce milk for hundreds of persons, he can produce much more sugar.

We have to eradicate our pre-historic and primitive methods of production to make room for modern scientific and technical methods of production. We are going in that direction, we have to mechanize all of our agriculture. We have to apply technology to all of our agriculture, and we have to apply technology to our Industry as much as possible, because that is what will increase production per man and per hour, and that is what will raise the standard of living of our people.

**Not Just Words and Promises, But Deeds!**

And fortunately, today the Revolution is not just words and promises. The Revolution is deeds! We said right after the hurricane which caused so much damage to the nation, that by the 15th of December the levels of supply would be re-established. And this has been done. And at the close of this year there have been incomparably more products for the people's consumption than in previous years.

And I am going to tell you something more. Up to now there has been an inflationary process, but this year it will be the reverse. The money in circulation will not increase. Money is already being withdrawn from circulation, and there will be no new issues in 1964; on the contrary, the National Bank plans to take some 70 million dollars

out of circulation. That is, our economy is improving greatly. This is the way by which line-ups will be ended. And this is the way by which our standard of living will continue to improve.

What country in Latin America has an economic situation like this? Most of the Latin American countries are in a tremendous period of inflation which has no apparent solution. And Cuba is beginning to move in the opposite direction. Its reserves are increasing, inflation is being fought, there is an anti-inflationary process. What does it mean for us to have more reserves? If this were a bourgeois and capitalist country it would mean that this wealth would turn into Cadillacs, into automobiles, into trips to Miami, Paris, and everywhere. But what does the increase of reserves mean under socialism? They are not going to be invested in luxuries. They are going to be invested in instruments of labor, in tractors, in farm machinery, in factories, in raw materials, and in consumer goods for the people. Because we never forget the needs of the people.

Of these reserves, one part will be used to improve our economy, for investments, to develop our economy. Another part will be used to improve the consuming power of the people. Because the people who work, the people who struggle, the people who are building a better life for the coming generations, also have the right — and Cuba's conditions allow it — to receive part of the fruit of their effort and to improve their living conditions.

There are a number of things that we need, and it would not be logical for us to start buying automobiles. We prefer the "old jalopies" circulating now. We have to bring new buses, yes, and we are going to bring new buses to improve transportation. And we have to bring new trains, and we are going to bring new trains to improve inter-provincial transportation. Our airlines have improved. We are going to improve our maritime lines, instead of buying Cadillacs, instead of taking trips abroad. We must invest these resources which we have as a result of the high price of sugar, and the improvement in our economy, to solve basic problems, fundamental problems. It does not matter if there are no beautiful cars. No! But there will be locomotives for our railway transport. There will be passenger trains. There will be buses for the transportation, of our people. Because the people here, the large mass of the people, never had cars.

There will be transportation for our goods, and in this way we can break the imperialist blockade. There will be fishing boats to increase the people's consumption of proteins and their general nourishment, to market tens of thousands of tons of tuna, which the people like so well, and many other species of fish. I don't want to speak of haddock, because so much of it came, and they sold it so often that the people got tired of it, although haddock is a fine dish and highly esteemed in all parts of the world.

**The Perspective of Peace for Our People?**

And those reserves, what should they be invested in? Not in automobiles. We will have to buy some cars for taxis, with meters and everything. We will have to be thinking about this so that thousands of taxi drivers who are working and who see that their cars

are getting, old will be able to work in the taxi business in the future with fewer worries than today. For in our country there are definitely opportunities for all, including those very taxi drivers whom we have often criticized, but who, I believe, have improved lately. Isn't that so? And they will be able to continue working in the future.

And when a working-man in a hurry takes a taxi he will know how much it will cost because there will be a meter marking it, and there will be no tricks. And we will make state enterprises where the drivers whose cars are already too old will work with a good salary. We are not going to invest our money in buying cars to hand them over to anyone without control over the rates charged the people. But there are opportunities for the workers in that field. They are independent workers, but we have to think about them. We are thinking of all of them, and we are really beginning a stage of progress, of improvement, and the results are already beginning to be seen everywhere.

Year by year, these results will be seen, and we will see the results of the organized force of the people at production and work. And we will see what this reinforcement of technicians means — the cadres that are being trained in our universities and in our technical schools. To our visitors we say: this is the Cuban panorama! This is not the Cuba presented by the imperialist news agencies. This is the real Cuba, the optimistic Cuba, the Cuba that supports the Revolution, the Cuba whose enthusiasm never decreases, the Cuba that is confident in her future, the Cuba that desires a future of peace, and the Cuba that has the right to be respected and be left in peace.

We can therefore say that perspectives are really good, and that the Year of the Economy promises great successes.

What are the perspectives of peace for our people? Well, there is a universal trend for peace in the world at this time, a universal wish for peace, a universal current of optimism, because mankind knows that peace means welfare, that peace means development, improvement of the economy, and progress for the peoples. This is truer of the socialist countries than anywhere else. For in the socialist countries we have no internal contradictions, we have no contradiction in our economies, we have no crises of overproduction because the economy develops according to plan.

But also, for the capitalist countries, peace means more markets, more trade opportunities, fewer possibilities of crises. Trade, peace, peaceful coexistence, benefit both the countries of the socialist camp and the countries of the capitalist camp. What has the new President of the United States said in these last few days? I have another cable. It says: "**President Lyndon B. Johnson today urged the world to speak less and do more on behalf of peace. He announced that in 1964 he will conduct an unrelenting peace offensive to improve relations with the** *(Russian)* **Soviet Union. Sources close to the Chief of State said that Johnson believes that the United States cannot wait a whole year until the coming elections to exert the maximum pressure on behalf of peace**.

**"Johnson and Soviet Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev today exchanged promises that they will strive to improve relations in 1964. A message was received at the White House in Washington yesterday from the Soviet leader expressing the hope that 1964 will be characterized by additional and significant progress, the solution of important international problems, and the improvement of relations between our countries in the interest of the Soviet and American peoples and on behalf of the strengthening of world peace.**

**"In his reply the President of the United States said that the time of speaking about peace was past: '1964 must be a year to take measures aimed at achieving that objective. The efforts by chemists in the laboratories, the scientists in space and the agricultural experts in the fields will be in vain unless we learn to live together in peace', he said. 'No achievement In physical science can be compared to what may be attained in the field of political science by giving the world a just peace'.**

**"And he continued: 'The American people and their government have set the strengthening of peace as their highest objective in the New Year. I myself am totally committed to attaining better understanding among peoples everywhere: peace on earth, good will to men must not be a mere illusion. We can convert it into reality'. Johnson's message, which is also addressed to Soviet President Brezhnev, ends by saying, 'the destiny of peace and the hopes of millions have been placed in our hands. I fervently hope we will be good custodians of this trust'."**

**President Johnson Responsible for Bloodshed**

This is certainly a declaration of peace. It could be called an encouraging declaration of peace. But we have our reservations. Unfortunately we have to insert a **"but"**. We would prefer not to have any reason to insert a **"but,"** Johnson says in his message that he is committed to attaining greater understanding among peoples everywhere. Good! We and the American people are also part of those peoples. He says that we must learn to live together in peace and that it is time to speak less and do more on behalf of peace. Good! But only a few days ago, on the eve of December 24th, C.I.A. agents criminally shed Cuban blood — C.I.A. agents coming from and operating from Florida.

And something else: we know that the people who took part in the operations of the **Rex** pirate ship were the same as those who placed an underwater mine on the hull of one of our warships. And not only that: they planned a trap. They tried to cause a massacre like the one of **La Coubre** *(an earlier explosion that sank a freighter in Havana harbour – Ed.)* In other words, first they caused a small explosion — the bomb which they had placed under cover of darkness — operating underwater, placing it so that it would first make a small explosion. And a few minutes later, when the crew gathered to see what had happened, there would be a big explosion. It cost the lives of three comrades in the Revolutionary Navy, and it cost the blood of 17 other comrades who were injured.

That was a criminal attack, a cowardly attack, an unjustifiable attack. That was the Christmas gift from the C.I.A., that was the Christmas gift from the United States to the Cuban people: the blood of young Cubans, criminally, traitorously and cowardly shed. And since the CIA. does not act on its own account, since the C.I.A. acts on behalf of the United States, we have the right to say that President Johnson is responsible for the blood our young comrades shed there.

And we therefore have the right to tell him that it is time to talk less and do more for peace. For such actions are no way to advocate peace. Such violations of international law are no way to advocate peace. Such bloody actions are no way to advocate peace. They are shameless and cowardly actions. The blood that has been lost hurts us, but it discredits the United States, It gives them no prestige, no glory.

**Let No Country be Excluded from Peace!**

We want peace. We desire peace — peace here in Cuba and peace in South Vietnam where there are 15,000 American soldiers, where thousands and thousands of U.S. mercenaries are bombing the Vietnamese people, murdering Vietnamese peasants, workers and patriots. What are the soldiers of U.S. imperialism doing there, waging such a cowardly, stupid, criminal war? Let not a single nation be excluded from the right to peace! Let this right to peace, so longed for by all nations, so rightly proclaimed and tenaciously fought for, not be denied to any nation or to any people of the World.

If the U.S. imperialists believe that there can be peace when attacking small countries, when shedding Cuban blood, the blood of other peoples, when interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, this is not a peaceful concept. Each country must decide its own destiny freely, by itself. It must choose its own path freely, by itself.

This is an indispensable condition for world peace. Let us hope that the leaders of the United States understand the errors and stupidity of their policy. May they join the struggle for peace, whose standard-bearers have been the countries of the socialist camp. Peace is today a sentiment that has universal support, even within the United States itself. The policy of force, of the cold war, of belligerency, of warmongering, is more and more discredited, has less and less prestige.

Our country wants to live in peace and our country can live in peace with all other countries. Why? Because we do not have to take anything from anybody. We do not have to interfere in anybody's affairs; we have but one task, one wish, one right: to work, to progress, to make our country advance. We do not have to interfere in any country's trade. We do not have to create difficulties for any country. All countries may benefit from dealing with us. All countries can sell to us. We can buy from and sell to any country. We do not practice discrimination against anyone. We exclude no one. Our trade is open to all countries alike. We trade with all sister countries of the socialist camp, and we are willing to trade under conditions of mutual benefit with all capitalist countries, even the United States.

They believe that they are doing us great harm by not trading with us. And they are wrong. Facts are proving us right. Their economic aggressions are boomeranging against them. We are not begging them to trade with us. They could not tempt our revolution with such a coin. Should they some day want to normalize their relations with us it will have to be on the basis of the strictest and fullest respect for our sovereignty and our economic, social and political system.

We will never make ideological concessions, and we will maintain an unyielding Marxist-Leninist position. Nevertheless, this is no obstacle to our living in peace. It would be absurd for us to tell the people of the United States that if they want to trade and have good relations with us they must give up their bourgeois philosophy. It would be absurd for us to place conditions on what they do over there. That would be so ridiculous no one would think of it. Well, then, neither should they tell us these things, because it is just as ridiculous.

They talk about Marxism; that it is not tolerable, that it is not admissable. And who are they to decide how every country should be governed? Who are they to issue laws within the border of another country? Our right, just as that of any country of Latin America, is and always must be to choose the type of government that we deem suit able.

If a country does not want to make a Revolution, let it not make it. That is its own business. If it wants to make it, let it make it. That is that country's right; it is every country's right.

On the basis of strict respect for the sovereignty of every country, we can live at perfect peace with all countries on this continent. On the basis of a principled policy we can live at perfect peace with all countries on this continent.

What we will not accept is the policy they want to implement against us. What we will not accept is what they proclaim so much! They accuse us of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, when they are precisely the ones who have been shamelessly interfering in the internal affairs of Cuba for the past five years, committing all sorts of
villainies and aggressions. What do they think? Are they going to blame us for all the crimes the United States has committed against us? The governments of Latin America cannot do that. The governments of Latin America cannot play deaf. They cannot turn a deaf ear to the realities of the misdeeds and crimes which the imperialists commit against our nation, and then condemn Cuba because that suits US. imperialism, because that is what U.S. imperialism wants. Each country in Latin America is free to do what it considers appropriate. Each country in America should know what its interests are.

**Latin American Debt to Cuban Revolution**

But it is good to warn the nations and governments of Latin America that they have a lot to thank Cuba and the Cuban Revolution for, because if today many governments

are not treated as dogs by U.S. imperialism — although every once in a while imperialism boots out some government in Latin America — it is due to the Cuban Revolution. If today the nations of Latin Amerca hope to demand better prices from the imperialists for their products, if they have the hope that the imperialists will lend them some money, it is due to the Cuban Revolution. If the Cuban Revolution should be crushed by the imperialists today, on the following day the imperialists would destroy the economy and interests of all the nations of Latin America.

The governments of Latin America must understand that to conspire against the Cuban Revolution is to conspire against their own interests and against their own people. The governments of Latin America must understand that to the same extent they help the imperialists against Cuba they dig their own grave, and that the day that the Cuban Revolution ceases to exist, the imperialists' fear ends. And then, goodby to the few pennies they are now sending down for the construction of a road, a school, or a hospital — because in that case no one is going to receive even a few pennies, nor are they going to have any hope of getting better prices for their products.

The existence of the Cuban Revolution, frightening the imperialists, has been one of the most beneficial factors for the nations of Latin America, even if no revolution has taken place there.

That is why it is foolish to play the game of the imperialists. Several governments in Latin America that are intelligent, that follow a policy more in line with the sentiments of their people, have maintained a position of resistance and firmness against imperialist pressures. They have not adopted the position of those puppet and servile governments which do nothing but obey orders from Washington. These governments that the imperialists overthrow every once in a while — they throw out one and put another one in three minutes later — what has happened to them all? Ydigoras, Villeda Morales, Frondizi — you even lose count of them....

(Someone in the crowd shouts 'Betancourt').... He is a political corpse, the person you mentioned there. But that is a problem for the Venezuelan people, not for us. But we know that the people of Venezuela are heroic, fighting and persevering. Why are the Venezuelan people rebelling against the imperialists? Because they are being plundered, because Venezuela could be the richest country in the world with the highest standard of living for the people, because of the oil deposits it has. Who is depriving them of all that? The imperialists, the military caste, grafting politicians, the reactionary bourgeoisie, the land owners, the merchants, the large merchants in the country. That is the reason for the rebellion of the Venezuelan people.

But the Venezuelan people have the right to make their Revolution. We have no right to intervene in their internal affairs. But neither have the imperialists the right to intervene in the internal affairs of Venezuela and send weapons to Venezuela to murder Venezuelan patriots.

We have no right to send arms to Guatemala or to any other country. But the imperialists have no right to be sending arms and to do what they are doing in countries like Vietnam. The U.S. imperialists have no right of any kind to carry out acts violating the sovereignty of other countries. We can live in perfect and absolute peace with any country or government in Latin America, and even with the United States, regardless of the social system existing in those countries, on the basis of a policy of principles, of unlimited respect for the sovereignty of all countries, if every country does the same.

**Will Pay, if They Trade**

The imperialists say that we nationalized their enterprises, and what worries them is not that they were nationalized — more than one U.S. enterprise is being nationalized here and there. What they are worried about is the payment for them. Well, if that is worrying them, we are ready to pay them, but if they want us to pay them, let them trade with us; but they must not get the idea that we are begging them to trade with us. We have stated that we are ready to pay indemnity on a certain basis — if commercial relations are normalized with us. But they are mistaken if they think that we can't live unless they are normalized. If they do not want to establish normal relations, that is up to them. But in that case we will never pay them even half a cent for all those enterprises.

And we will continue to live happily here. If need be, our grandsons will discuss it with the grandsons of the present leaders, the present U.S. generation. We are in no hurry.

I am going to tell you what l said to a French newspaperman: We are revolutionaries. We are not worried over risk and danger. We revolutionaries by temperament prefer a life of risk to a tranquil life without problems. We defend the policy of peace because it is a question of principle, because peace is the just aspiration of all humanity. We defend it. on principle, and because it concerns all humanity.

Our revolutionary temperament feels quite at ease in the turbulent waters of agitated situations, if the imperialists want to maintain this situation indefinitely. We swim beautifully in those waters because they are the waters in which a revolutionary feels at home. And we have come to power because we have a revolutionary temperament, and we are conducting the revolution because we have a revolutionary vocation and temperament.

**Answer Blow for Blow**

We haven't lost our temperament on coming to power. We haven't lost it after five years in power; nor are we meek. The imperialists needn't think that we are going to fold our arms while they are committing all kinds of brutalities against us. We are going to try to answer, blow for blow. And the imperialists should know that whatever harm they try to do us, we will try to do them.

However, we are not to blame for this situation. We are not to blame for this policy. It is they who have followed this policy against our country. It is they who have

maintained a proud, arrogant and high-handed policy with respect to Cuba; an inglorious policy, a defeated policy, a pyrrhic policy, a ridiculous policy that has led them to one defeat after the other. And the more harm they have tried to do us, the more has been the merit of this Revolution, and the more glory and prestige this Revolution will have in the eyes of the present and future generations. Beg them to trade with us? No! Beg them to re-establish diplomatic relations? No!

I told that newspaperman that for reasons of principle we are interested only in peace. Let them forget about us and we will forget about them. We do not need their trade now in order to live, because they compelled us to look for other markets, because today we have the stable and inexhaustible market of the socialist camp. Our country has no problems in the future; it has unlimited markets for its staple products, it has received unlimited aid from the Soviet Union and from all other socialist countries in these difficult years. We shall be grateful forever for this aid. On the basis of this proof, these innumerable proofs we have received, we have built indestructible bonds of friendship between our revolutionary nations.

I said to the French newsman: We prefer that the U.S. government be represented by a Swiss Ambassador, because he represents them well; he is not spying around, and he hasn't two hundred spies in the Embassy, and the U.S. Embassy would give a terrible headache to anybody. And I said to him: This is an austere country where vice is being eradicated. There aren't gambling dens here any more. Prostitution is disappearing. The vice centers, where many U.S. tourists went, no longer exist. The tourist business could be a source of income representing 50 million or 100 million dollars. But do you know what it would mean to us to see them again, with loud shirts, drunk on the streets, looking for brothels, looking for gambling joints? That aid does not interest us; with our work we can create a hundred million dollars and much more than that, without the necessity of enduring those humiliations.

And I heartily say this, the best thing would be for them to forget us and us forget them and not see each other in twenty years. The only thing that we are really interested in, because it is a question of principle, is peace. Let them leave us in peace. We do not need them, fortunately, and this is our good luck; it is our good luck to be able to say that we do not need them at all, that we do not need their trade or their relations.

If they want to trade we will trade. We won't refuse. If they want to establish relations — they would really give us a lot of headaches — but we would be willing to establish relations. But, truly, our fundamental interests do not lie here. So, they have no need to place conditions on any aid to us. We have never asked them for aid at any time, and we will never ask them for aid — **Never**!

If we know how to help ourselves, if we can help ourselves by working, studying, applying technology, improving organization, what need have we for such spurious aid? What need have we for such blackmailing aid? One day we may be trading with Guiana and then they might say: "If you trade with Guiana we will take away the five dollars we are giving you." We would then face an embarrassing situation, and we would have to tell

them, "Aren't we free? What is the matter with us?" It is intolerable for a country to be told this.

And wherever the United States takes its aid they follow it up with blackmail and press their conditions even further. We are really happy not to have it. Are we not? *(The people answer "Yes!")* I do not think it is just my personal feeling; that is how all our people feel. We are very happy, very satisfied with what we can do. Our soil is rich. Our people are intelligent and enthusiastic. Our citizens are becoming more and more skilled. We have friends. Our future is good. What do we care about the imperialists? We don't need the imperialists, and we feel very fortunate not to need them.

We are ready for any peaceful solution. We are ready to live in peace with all peoples of the world. We will never spare our efforts in the struggle for peace. But let the imperialists know— since they sometimes believe we are drowning and want to be pulled out of the well — that it is not we, but they who are in the well. And just let them see that we are better off than they are, that while this year we have more foreign exchange than last year, they have less.

And they have a million problems that we have already solved. We can advance with a planned economy that develops vigorously. We can build the future we want.

That's what should encourage us and make us happier on this fifth anniversary. We have ahead of us a future that is ours, because we have earned tie right to the future. And that right we defend with the weapons that were on parade here and with the people that followed behind the weapons.

The Revolution is solid, firm. It is consolidated; it is no longer the product of enthusiasm only. It is the product of consciousness, of understanding, of the experience that a whole people has been acquiring.

The Cuban Revolution can not possibly turn back. The Cuban Revolution is indestructible. To destroy it, it would be necessary to destroy a whole people! And a whole people cannot be destroyed with impunity today.

The Cuban Revolution marches forward. It has arisen at a moment in the history of mankind when the peoples are freeing themselves. It has arisen in one of the most glorious and promising moments for the peoples, for mankind, when the peoples that were subjugated for centuries in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America, have realized that they have the right and, above all, that they have the opportunity, to be independent, to be free, to cease being vassals of the exploiters.

At this moment the Cuban Revolution arose — the Revolution that gave our country a name, that made it known in every corner of the world where many thought we were an appendix of Florida, one more little key in the chain of keys located south of the United States. It is the Revolution that has stirred the hopes and encouraged hundreds of millions of oppressed people, that has won friends in all parts of the world, stirred emotions and

sympathy. It is the Revolution that has kept the imperialists awake, that has served as an example for the exploited as well as for the exploiters. This is our Revolution, the Revolution that today celebrated its fifth anniversary as it will celebrate its fiftieth and its one hundredth anniversaries.

It will be a beacon, a torch in the history of our country. It will be an inspiration for coming generations, a beginning for our country. For other generations will receive this inspiration, this strength and this tradition, and bur country will continue to advance.

Every generation will do its part, and the part of every generation will be brilliant. We have seen how the present Soviet generation has been able to conquer outer space, has carried out great feats in science and technology, while to the previous generation fell the glory of the Revolution, of laying the basis for the present possibilities.

What will future generations do? What will the descendants of the Cubans of today do?

Perhaps our imagination cannot stretch so far. But we are quite aware that we are preparing the road to that future, that we are working for that future, and that, along that road, that path which we are building with our sweat, our blood, our enthusiasm, will march the future generations of our country.

That is why, today, on the celebration of this fifth anniversary, we congratulate the people. We congratulate the people on this occasion, on this anniversary.

For by chance, the New Year, the new life and the New Revolution arrived together in the world and are together on the calendar.

Our gratitude to all those who have visited us, to all those who have joined in the enthusiasm of our people during these days.

Our best wishes to the people, our greetings, our wish that we may all march along that road, and our conviction that it will be so.

OUR COUNTRY OR DEATH! WE WILL WIN!